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of bonito, communicated with this god to insure his favor during the coming bonito season. The old men (*tupele*) decided which of the younger men should make up the bonito-fishing group (*notenga*) for the season. None but the men of this group might fish *ate*. The *notenga* fishermen were fed by the old men, who gave them cooked taro to take with them each day they went fishing. The fish caught were all brought to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men and there divided among the people of the island with the proviso that each man of the fishing group was allowed to have the head of the fish he caught in addition to his share of the flesh. The group which caught *ate* one year automatically became the group for securing *pale* fish the next year. All fish caught were similarly divided by the old men among the people. The men of the *notenga* group, which consisted of about four canoe crews, each of five or six men, were taught the elements of *ate* fishing, the rules, tapus, and skills before the season started. There were no special names for the crew members. The best fisherman (*tangata tau nuiva*), who was usually also the oldest man of the group, became captain. His was the canoe that always shot the reef passage first. The next canoe to follow had the next oldest man of the *notenga* as captain, and so on for all the canoes of the *notenga*.

Besides having care of the canoe and fishing gear, the captain of each canoe was responsible for providing bonito hooks. He had to provide one hook for each member of the crew, including himself; in a six-seater canoe the captain went fishing with six bonito hooks on his bonito rod. If, while the canoe was fishing, a storm arose that seemed likely to break the canoe up, the captain gave to each member of the crew one bonito hook from those on his rod. Each man tied his hook around his neck to act as a breast ornament (*yano*); were the men drowned thereafter, each went to his death provided with his death ornament. If there were too few hooks to go round the crew, as might sometimes happen if hooks were lost from the line while fishing, the captain gave to those without hooks any article of value in the canoe—a section of anchor rope or ordinary single-piece hooks. In this way no member of the crew lacked a death gift. The theory behind this was that the captain was responsible for getting together his crew, for their safety in this life, and for their dying at sea as well provided with gifts as if they died on land. To give out the gifts was *wehejuwe*, and the gift itself was *yano*, as distinguished from the death gift on land, *welonga*.

Ate fishing was a somewhat perilous occupation because the canoe might press out far from land in pursuit of a shoal of fish and, caught in a storm, be unable to make a landfall again.

The canoes of the *notenga* left the village early in the morning. As they passed the rock called Te Ulu-mano-o-te-tokalua, which juts out of the water opposite Yato village, the captain placed a malo, hook, or single coconut leaf on this rock as a gift (*mahoetoe*) to the god Malokitelangi, that the god would give the canoes good fortune. It was tapu for any canoe going across the reef to scrape the bottom on the coral. If a canoe did this, it could not proceed farther but had to return to the village without fishing during the day. Rain drives away bonito fish from the surface, and if the canoes did not sight fish after patrolling for some time, it was permissible for them to return to the reef to rest. All the crew, save only the bowman, might step out on the reef and walk about; if the bowman forgot the tapu and stepped out, the whole crew had immediately to return to the village without further delay, even if meantime a shoal of fish had been sighted. If this tapu was disobeyed, the canoe was likely to be destroyed by lightning. When the victims of such a mishap as the breaking of a tapu returned to the village, they were greeted with insults and labeled *ngongo elo* (stinking *ngongo* birds). The shame of the crew was great if later in the day the other canoes of the group returned loaded with *ate* fish.

Bonito was not regarded as a fish (*ika*) but as an animal (*manu*). Fishermen located bonito schools by the flocks (*inoa*) of seabirds following them. Canoes trolled up and down outside the reef. The captain sat against the bonito rod, which was sup-

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were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *kie* pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa wa*). The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *kie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *welo* cord (*matai welo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawua ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tuputupu a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land) certainly,
Yongia ona wakaevevenga.	Smelled its fringe.

Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yea*) worn by women. The art of making the *yea* has been lost today.

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627 671 578 The owner of the stolen property might go to the house of the man whom he suspected and, in turn, take articles to the value of those missing, thus provoking a quarrel. Disputes arising from such actions or from unjust accusations were settled by wrestling, where a fall in the ring decided the matter, or else by a stand-up fight with sticks; to administer a good beating was considered adequate compensation for the loss of goods or for the loss of a wife. If the thief was discovered, the stolen goods were returned in full by him or his family, or else goods of the same value were paid, or a gift might be made to the injured party, large enough to be considered adequate reparation.

626 763 If the thief was not discovered, his children, own or classificatory, born before or after the theft, would certainly die early deaths. The remarks of neighbors might then lead the thief to confess his earlier fault. In the confessional held round a death bed, thieving is one of the matters which relatives close to the dying person are particularly requested to confess.

674 627 Thieving was rare in Pukapuka, owing to ease of detection, but the stories of Nuanua and Kieilu show the type of behavior it evoked when it occurred:

Nuanua was fishing on the back beach where he picked up a piece of driftwood bamboo to which he found several huge pearl shells attached. He took the bamboo to the lagoon and securely anchored it there to allow the shells to grow bigger. One night all the shells were stolen from the bamboo. Nuanua inquired everywhere, but with no results. He searched month after month, and many times interrogated Tipui, a man whom he suspected of the theft. All was fruitless, and Nuanua died without having found his shells. After this, the children of Tipui, and even of some of his relatives, began to die sudden, mysterious deaths. One day, Tipui himself became very sick. Everyone thought he would confess his theft. But he still feared surviving relatives of Nuanua. On his death bed, however, when he knew he could not recover from his illness, Tipui confessed his sin. It was too late to save his family which died out very soon thereafter.

Kieilu was a noted warrior (*toa*) in the time of the chief Maina. One day he went bonito fishing. On his return, he put his line and six pearl-shell hooks in fresh water to wash out the salt. He put them in a little pool (*loto*) which then existed behind the present London Missionary Society church. Then he went to the back beach. Coming home again, he found that his rod and hooks had all disappeared. He hunted everywhere for them without result. Being a great warrior, he pulled down many of the houses close by, such was the frenzy of his search. He threatened to kill the people in these houses if they did not tell who had stolen the precious hooks. Every search proved fruitless, and to this day, these hooks have not been found. But the people who lived about this pool were called *manava ula* (red bellies). If one wishes to insult a person living in this place even today, one calls him *manava ula*, a terrible reminder of an earlier shame. [578]

The story of Wuina, combining motifs of theft and murder, illustrates permissible individual retribution (1).

578 Slander (*maka musa*, "throwing words") was apparently a common cause of dispute in former days, as, indeed, it is today. If one man slandered another, the injured party challenged the slanderer to a wrestling contest and tried to throw him. If he succeeded, he explained to the people that he tried for an extra bad fall because of the slander. If the injured party was

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Disposition of Children

No rule for the disposition of children of divorced or separated parents can be established from practice. Each situation is dealt with on its merits when it arises. Some informants felt that children should follow the mother as they belonged to her maternal descent group; others insisted that children should remain with the father as they belong to his paternal descent group. The divorce of parents does not alter either the maternal or paternal lineage affiliation of children.

Children of marriages terminated by the death of one mate continue to reside with the surviving parent, whether or not he or she remates. Where circumstances demand, children are shared either by simple residence or adoption among their bilateral kin.

DEATH

Mourning

Parents or other close relatives attend the corpse (*mate*) in the house where death occurred.

They first wash the corpse, then place it on a special pandanus mat (*epaepa*) made for the deceased when he reached sociological adulthood by his mother or other close female relative, and since kept in the rafters of the house. For some corpses attendants make a sort of tentlike enclosure called *la* by sewing four pandanus mats (*hie*) together. They place the tent on top of the corpse and go under it to dress the corpse in a *malo mate*, if a male—a short pandanus malo only long enough for one turn between the thighs and round the waist, made by the deceased's mother in advance and reserved for this purpose—in a kilt, if female. They place a *yoss* necklace of pearl shell round the neck and tie a *titi ai* (string of pearl or other valuable shells) round the waist. They then remove the tent and place the corpse on view. For other corpses the tent is dispensed with and the corpse prepared in the open house. If the individual dies with the mouth open, the mouth is not closed; it is covered nowadays with a black rag to make the face look better and to keep the flies out. The eyes are always closed after death, sometimes before if it is obvious that death is imminent.

If for any reason it is desired to hold the mourning (*tangi*) elsewhere, the dressed corpse is shifted to a suitable house owned by a relative. A desirable house is a large one to accommodate the crowd of mourners, and cool to refresh the mourners during their long vigil. One corpse that I saw being thus moved to a more appropriate house was rolled in a sheet and carried by the principal male mourners. A crowd of children preceded the corpse and disported themselves, laughing and wrestling. Behind followed two old women, sisters of the deceased, weeping aloud and crying out after the deceased sister.

When the news is spread through the villages that there has been a death, the mourners, close and distant relatives of the deceased, go immediately to the house where the corpse is laid out. Wailing continuously, they formerly

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765 cleansed of overwhelming sorrow and that they were sufficiently calm to return to everyday life, he announced that the mourning (*taupo*) period would end on the following day. A small feast (*lulukunga*) was held at the grave by the immediate family of the deceased for the friends who had supplied the mourners with food. The party then broke up without ceremony to return to the village. There was no further attendance on the grave. If another relative had died while the mourning party was at the cemetery, they continued in residence for a further period. According to Veti, some mourning parties resided in a cemetery for six to nine moons at a stretch.

765 526 613 Mourning periods were sometimes concluded with a seclusion (*kaitou*) followed by a wrestling contest. When the mourners left the grave, they selected young men of the paternal lineage, married and unmarried, to go into the house of seclusion (*vale kaitau*, see p. 282) for one moon to be fattened for the wrestling. On leaving the house of seclusion at the end of the period, the men paraded through the villages issuing the customary challenge. The match which followed brought the mourning period to a close.

Death of a Chief

766 Formerly special procedures followed the death of the chief. The following material refers especially to the supreme chief who lived in Loto, but informants said that similar procedures might be followed for the chiefs of the other villages as well as for the sacred maid.

[763] The deceased chief was taken to the place on Loto beach called Te Ava-o-te-upe, bathed, and then taken back to his house. The body was smeared with scented coconut oil, dressed in the ordinary short death malo made by the women of the chief's household, and adorned with ornaments. Even if the chief died under suspicious circumstances, no post mortem examination was held. "If the body was dead, it was dead, and there was nothing more to be found out about it," is the way informants expressed the matter. The corpse was laid out, the wake began. The people of the island came to pay their last respects to the dead chief, bringing with them death gifts, as a last farewell (*waka-wwi*) to the chief. Watching beside the corpse were two girls of the paternal lineage (*po*) of the chief. They were called *tauie* (guardians). Each girl held in her hand a burning stick of *paapaa* wood called *te auri o Matangi* (the fire of Matangi). As each mourner came forward to present his gift and to smell (*yongi*) the corpse, the guardian pressed the brand against his flesh. To show his intense love for the dead man the mourner was required not to flinch at the impact. A mourner who could greet the corpse ten times and withstand ten burnings was known to have tremendous love (*aloa*) for the chief, whereas the man who shrank away from the impact of the torch obviously had little love for his chief. The mourners recited chants for two or more days and nights if the chief had been beloved in life, for a shorter period if not. The chief mourner was the deceased's sacred maid.

The chief's grave, unlike the grave of an ordinary person, was dug very deep, down to water level. For interment the body was bundled in mats brought as death gifts; the other gifts were placed inside the bundle, and the whole secured with a large covering, such as the sail of the chief's canoe. Trussed with numerous transverse turns of sennit, the bundle was described by informants as "looking like a long cigar-shaped bundle (*ati*) of Samoan tobacco." Strong men picked up the body, raised it above

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752 below the fracture. The fingers pull apart the lower part of the bone, firmly and surely, while the two thumbs press (*yoka*) the two broken sections so that they fit firmly together. Then the downward pressure is relaxed and the broken sections pushed together. A cooling medicine (*vai lakau*) is applied to the broken section, coconut sheaths are placed on both sides of the limb to act as a splint (*lakau tukuyako*, stick to make straight), and the whole bound up with sennit. To prevent movement, the arm is slung in a simple sling (*avu*) made of a piece of pandanus mat, an old malo, or a line of sennit which is passed under the arm and fastened over the shoulder. For sleeping, the arm is removed from the splint and rested on a pile of mats at the patient's side. Every two or three days fresh medicine and new splints are applied to the fracture. There was no disease object to be removed from such an injury, though the god was believed to have caused the slip which resulted in the fracture. Native doctors are expert at setting fractures; the limb apparently always knits well.

For an injury to the elbow (presumably a dislocation), termed *wowonga teka* (section out of position), the arm is straightened out, the forearm pulled steadily in a distal direction, the joint pushed in with a steady pressure of the two thumbs and guided back into place. For a similar injury to the jaw, the thumb is pressed in on the angle of the jaw. The mouth of the patient is opened wide until the knuckles of the jaw joint are close in position. Then with a firm pressure of the thumb, the bones are snapped back.

The three cooling medicines used are: drinking nut liquid; *lolo* cream wrung from raw or baked coconut scrapings; and the juice of pounded ripe bananas. The theory in the use of this medicine is that it purifies the blood round the injured part, keeps the fracture cool, allays inflammation, and thus promotes healing. A cooling medicine is applied only if there is much inflammation or pain. *Lomilomi* may be applied later if stiffness is apparent.

751 Besides *lomilomi*, other physical therapy techniques include sweating, sun and water treatment, and lancing. Forced sweating is used for fever only. Fever is *maki owukele*; sweat is *ta*; to sweat, *pupu te ta*. In cases of fever, the source of pain is treated with *lomilomi*. Drinking nuts are heated near a fire, and the patient is given the hot liquid to drink. He is also covered with several layers of mats to promote sweating. There is no known use of a sweat or steam bath to promote excessive perspiration.

General debility marked by pronounced weakness of the stomach and heaviness in the arms and legs was called *maki taewawo* (heavy sickness). It was treated with frequent cold, fresh or salt water baths, the external application of hot coconut liquid, or occasional sun bathing. The god might recommend a cold bath for one patient and a hot bath for another; hence it was impossible to establish general uses of these agents. To heat water the tops of green drinking nuts are split, the coconut liquid poured off, and the nuts filled with cold water are placed on hot coals. When the water is hot, it is poured into a wooden bowl. It is then laved over the patient with cupped hands.

752 Pukapukan surgery seems to have been backward in its development. The only record or knowledge of post mortem examination is in the stories 763 of Watu-manava-nui and Uyo. The dead bodies of these two supermen were opened up after death in order to find out the cause of their exceptional physical abilities. The gods seem not to have suggested to the medicine men